

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6081

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 6011

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PE

SUBJECT: THIRD-COUNTRY ISSUES

REF: STATE 172095

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS FROM THE AMBASSADOR

1. THERE FOLLOW OUR THOUGHTS ON HOW SPECIFIC THIRD-COUNTRY  
ISSUES MAY AFFECT U.S. RELATIONS WITH PERU:

A. A DISMANTLING OF OAS SANCTIONS AT SAN JOSE - PERU  
HAS BEEN ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL ADVOCATES OF LIFTING OAS SANC-  
TIONS AGAINST CUBA. AS REPORTING FROM SAN JOSE HAS INDICATED,  
BOTH PERU AND MEXICO HAVE GONE OUT OF THEIR WAY TO COOPERATE  
WITH US IN THEIR EFFORTS TO FRAME GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE  
RESOLUTION ON CUBA. IF THE RESOLUTION SUCCEEDS, AND IF PERU  
CONTINUES TO PERCEIVE OUR POSITION AS POSITIVE (AS IS NOW  
APPARENTLY THE CASE), THIS WILL CONTRIBUTE marginally TO WHAT  
APPEARS TO BE A WARMING TREND IN OUR RELATIONS WITH PERU.

B. RECIPROCAL MOVES BETWEEN U.S. AND CUBA - WE  
THINK SUCH MOVES WOULD HAVE RELATIVELY LITTLE EFFECT ON  
U.S.- PERUVIAN RELATIONS. WHILE THE GOP WOULD REACT NEGATIVELY  
TO EVIDENCE OF HARDENING OF U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD CUBA (SUCH  
AS SUPPORT FOR CONTINUATION OF SANCTIONS), WE DO NOT BELIEVE  
THAT IT NECESSARILY FOLLOWS THAT U.S. - PERUVIAN WARMING TREND IN  
OUR RELATIONS WITH CUBA. AS WE READ IT, PERU'S INTENTION HAS  
BEEN TO RESTORE CUBA TO RESPECTABILITY WITHIN THE LATIN  
AMERICAN AS WELL AS THE THIRD WORLD CONTEXT, THUS GAINING AN  
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ALLY FOR PERU'S OWN POSITIONS WHERE THEY ARE ON THE MORE

EXTREME SIDE. TO A GREAT EXTENT, PERU HAS ACHIEVED THIS OBJECTIVE; LIFTING THE SANCTIONS IS FROSTING ON THE CAKE. PERU'S INTEREST IN SEEING A WARMING OF U.S.-CUBAN RELATIONS STOPS AT THIS POINT.

C. A NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY - AS ONE OF PANAMA'S MOST VOCAL AND EXTREME SUPPORTERS, PERU WOULD WELCOME A CANAL TREATY, PARTICULARLY TO THE EXTENT IT MEETS PANAMA'S OBJECTIVES. PERU WOULD TAKE THIS AS AN INDICATION THAT THE U.S. VIEWS ITS HEMISPHERE ROLE MORE NEARLY IN TERMS ACCEPTABLE TO PERU, AND HENCE A PLUS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. HOWEVER, THE IMPACT, THOUGH IMPORTANT, WOULD PROBABLY BE MARGINAL SINCE THE CANAL TREATY IS ONE OF A RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS ON WHICH PERU PERCEIVES IT POSITION AS OPPOSED TO THAT OF THE U.S.

D. A BREAKDOWN IN THE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS - A BREAKDOWN WOULD DEFINITELY HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH PERU. THE DEGREE WOULD BE A FUNCTION OF HOW SERIOUS THE BREAK MIGHT BE AND HOW EXTREME THE PANAMANIAN REACTION. AT THE FAR END OF THE SPECTRUM, WE CAN VISUALIZE MOB DEMONSTRATIONS BEFORE THE EMBASSY AND POSSIBLE RETALIATION AGAINST U.S. ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

E. FAILURE TO REMOVE OPEC EXCLUSION FROM SGP - WE CAN EXPECT A TYPICALLY SHRILL REACTION IN OAS AND OTHER FORUMS, BUT THIS WILL PROBABLY SPILL OVER VERY LITTLE, IF AT ALL, INTO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

2. AS A GENERAL OBSERVATION, AS YOUR KNOW, WE HAVE NOTED AN APPARENT EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE GOP TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH US. WE ARE NOT YET SURE WHY THIS IS SO, NOR HOW ENDURING THIS TREND MIGHT BE. (THE EXPROPRIATION OF MARCONA MUST CERTAINLY BE REGARDED AS AN INTERRUPTION OF ANY SUCH TREND.) IT ALSO APPEARS TO BE THE CASE (TO A LESSER DEGREE) IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, SUCH AS THE OAS; PERU'S COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE SANCTIONS ISSUE (FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES) HAS NOT PREVENTED IT FROM PUSHING HARD FOR UNACCEPTABLE AMENDMENTS TO THE RIO TREATY (ALTHOUGH GARCIA BEDOYA TOLD ME IN CONFIDENCE JULY 23 THAT HE EXPECTS PERUVIAN DELEGATION TO SUPPORT EVOLVING RIO TREATY AMENDMENTS AT SAN JOSE AFTER SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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FURTHER MASSAGING). PERHAPS THE EXPLANATION LIES IN THE REALIZATION OF MORALES BERMUDEZ AND OTHER LIKE-MINDED LEADERS THAT PERU HAS VEERED TOO FAR TO THE LEFT AND SHOULD REDRESS THE BALANCE, NOT ONLY INTERNALLY BUT IN ITS RELATIONS WITH US. IN OTHER WORDS, THE DEGREE OF WARMTH IN OUR RELATIONS IS A FUNCTION OF THAT PERU PERCEIVES TO BE IN ITS DOMESTIC SELF-INTEREST. THIRD-COUNTRY RELATIONSHIPS ARE (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A BLOW-UP WITH PANAMA) NOT A VERY IMPORTANT

ELEMENT IN THIS EQUATION.

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